DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 406 248 SO 023 427

AUTHOR Kazi, Aftab A.
TITLE Education, Ethnicity, and Political Socialization in Pakistan.
REPORT NO ISSN-0304-8765
PUB DATE Aug 86
NOTE 14p.; Revised version of ED 232 990.
PUB TYPE Journal Articles (080) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)
JOURNAL CIT Asian Profile; v14 n4 p349-359 Aug 1986

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Cultural Differences; Developing Nations; Economic Development; *Educational Policy; *Ethnicity; Foreign Countries; Nationalism; *Political Socialization; *Role of Education; Social Change
IDENTIFIERS *Pakistan

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the correlation between educational policies and political conditions as an indicator of socialization in the nation and state building process in Pakistan. Because of the discrepancies between official statements and the level of ethnic conflict, this study seeks to analyze the standard national social studies curriculum for its proportionate representation of diverse Pakistani nationalities, as a concrete indicator to access the socialization process and inequality controversy in that society. The rationale for the national curriculum analysis is that it not only allows for examination of the inequalities of the educational policy, but also could shed light on the existence of inequalities in other socio-economic and political policy areas. This framework analyzes political socialization by considering integrative perceptions, the educational curriculum, and socio-political conditions. The document traces the national curriculum as the texts have changed with every major political change in the government. Four major political eras in the history of Pakistan and its national curriculum are: (1) early establishment era, 1947-58; (2) the military era, 1958-71; (3) the civilian era, 1971-77; and (4) the post civilian and new military era, 1977-present. Culturally appropriate strategies of national development and societal reordering are crucial for an effective state building process in multi-ethnic societies, without which these societies are neither nations nor states, but unstable political units, merely surviving with the use of coercive mechanisms. The Pakistani case suggests that broader participation of all the indigenous nationalities at the socio-economic and cultural level could stabilize the political situation. (DK)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 406 248

Education, Ethnicity and Political Socialization in Pakistan

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

AFTAB A. KAZI

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

SP 023 427

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Vol. 14, No. 4 Asian Profile August 1986

Education, Ethnicity and Political Socialization in Pakistan

AFTAB A. KAZI
Research Associate
University Center for International Studies
University of Pittsburgh
U.S.A.

1. Introduction

Scholars have held the task of nation and state-building to be a multi-dimensional problem involving the forging of a sense of territorial nationality, the bridging of the elite-mass gap, and the establishment of a national authority (Weiner, 1965:52-54), as well as the creation of a consensus of values and a devising of common integrative institutions and codes of behavior. Political socialization is the basic socio-political process through which an individual becomes integrated into a social group by learning the group's culture and his role within the group or political system.

The role of education in the process is to prepare the individual to learn about his rights, obligations, expectations, and to gain an understanding of his socio-political role preparatory to assuming it. In the newly independent states, education thus has not only played a key role in the rise of anti-colonial independence movements, but has yet to play an even more critical role in the overall process of national development, integrity, and cohesion.

The post-colonial societies, lacking the common attributes of modern nationalism (a homogenous population, common language, and historical, cultural, and religious traditions, etc.), with their enormous problems of ethnic divisions and underdevelopment, "... are not yet nations, but nations in hope" (Emerson, 1960: 94). Despite their educational and political socialization efforts, some of the modern states are experiencing internal instability and political crises, such as that of national identity, participation, integration, and distribution. This has not only interfered with the process of socio-economic change, but has affected national cohesion as well.

As with other developing societies, Pakistan, with its diversity of national cultures and languages, has experienced difficulty in achieving national integration and cohesion. Despite the traumatic experience of national disintegration in 1971, the problems of cultural plurality remain unresolved, and ethnic inequality, once a cause of dismemberment, continues to dominate the political scene. While the existing socio-economic and political structure persists, resulting in feelings of deprivation among Pakistani nationalities, educational policies lacking proportionate representation of indigenous cultures in the national curriculum have led to similar consequences. This has not only limited the opportunities for inter-ethnic understanding, but it appears to have arrested the consensus for Pakistani nationalism. In the 1960's, the

Bengalis of East Pakistan demanded their provincial autonomy; and in the 1980's, the Sindhis and Baluchis are following a similar path.

This leads one to speculate on the causes of dissatisfaction within the Pakistani state. Keeping in mind this question, the study investigates the capacity of the existing educational and political system in Pakistan to facilitate the realization of national sentiment through a socialization process among the indigenous nationalities.

The study's major assumption is that despite a non-representative political structure, proportionate, if not equal, socio-economic and cultural socialization opportunities for all indigenous nationalities may well strengthen the process of national development and integration in Pakistan.

As with many other developing societies, the official government of Pakistan data on development lacks breakdowns on individual ethnic participation in national development. Considering the discrepancies between official statements and the level of ethnic conflict, this study seeks to analyze the standard national social studies curriculum for its proportionate representation of diverse Pakistani nationalities, as a concrete indicator to assess the socialization process and inequality controversy in that society. The rationale for the national curriculum analysis is that it not only allows for examination of the inequalities of the educational policy, but (a disproportionate representation in the field of education) could also shed light on the existence of inequalities in other socio-economic and political policy areas. Moreover, as an instrument of value education, changes in curriculum could also reflect the influence of governmental changes and policies.

Thus, this study addresses the correlation between educational policies and political conditions as an indicator of socialization in the nation and state building process in Pakistan.

II. Conceptual Framework

This framework seeks to analyze political socialization by considering three major factors: integrative perceptions, the educational curriculum, and socio-political conditions.

While nationalism is an aspect of the ideology of a nation, national integration is the process of achieving nation-hood. In multi-ethnic societies, this process has often required certain strategies, reflecting the societal perceptions and integrative tendencies of the ruling elite. The two most common public policy strategies involved in the process are (1) the "assimilation process" which eliminates the distinctive cultural traits of different groups into a kind of national culture, usually that of the dominant group; and (2) the process of "unity in diversity" which establishes individual national loyalities without eliminating different cultures. These two strategies are politically defined as centripetal and centrifugal tendencies, repectively. While a centripetal tendency refers to a group's cultural and structural trends towards a common society-wide lifestyle, a centrifugal tendency would manifest itself in a group by retaining and preserving the unique cultural attributes, as well as by seeking greater autonomy, both economically and politically (Schermerhorn, 1970: 14). In this context, successful socialization would result only if the ruling and the ruled groups share a tendency, either centripetal, centrifugal, or midway between the two. If one party seeks closer ties or hegemony, and the other seeks greater autonomy, the total socialization process may be full of conflict. In educational analysis, a centrifugal tendency may encourage each group's language to be used as a medium of instruction, at least at the primary school level, and represent the group's values in the

national curriculum. The centripetal tendency may impose the values of the dominant group in the name of the national culture. This has often caused political unrest among the dominated groups. While the centrifugal tendency recognizes the principle of cultural pluralism, centripetal avoids it, and in such a case, the socialization process may not achieve the desired results.

Another important variable in the socialization process is the mechanisms employed. LaBelle and White have described them as coercion, consensus, and interdependence (1980: 156). More than one of these mechanisms could be applied in group relationships; one for structural purposes, the other for the cultural relationship. Coercion, in this study, refers to the use of force or non-consensual, socio-economic and political pressures. In educational analysis, such pressures may manifest themselves in centripetal tendencies, such as lack of academic freedom, disproportionate allocation of resources, and a non-representative curriculum, which not only alienates, but may also affect the achievement level of students at the national level.

Consensus is the neutral outcome of a set of values, maintained by compromising the integrative tendencies of all ethnic groups. Interdependence is a structural relationship, in which, according to Paulston, various groups or segments of these groups function within a common network of economic and social order, without necessarily agreeing upon the fairness of the network itself (1978: 14). Application of these mechanisms depends on the perceptions of the ruling elite about society. However, the use of coercion alone may not keep a society together indefinitely, and may increase the level of conflict.

Relative deprivation, in this study, is defined as the disadvantage of ethnic groups in comparison with the relatively advantaged dominant group. In educational analysis, it reflects the pressure of social, political and economic inequalities. If the previous expectations of the diverse ethnic groups do not match their present achievements in the system, the dominated groups tend to develop feelings of deprivation which, consequently, direct their behavior and alter their perceptions.

Perception is a tendency of individuals to recognize those elements of a situation which determines the differences between previous expectations and present achievements (Theoderson, 1979: 295). Those who perceive themselves at a loss, manifest their frustrations, and in many cases, recourse to violence in order to demand what they perceive to be their basic rights.

The frustration-aggression hypothesis, developed to explain this phenomenon, states that "frustration always generates an instigation to aggression" (Dollard, 1939). Dollard's theory is basically a psychological one grounded on the realization that, "... past expectations or desires will not be achieved in the present." James Davies supported this theory in his sociological analysis and wrote that, "... group frustration indicted by the gap between expected need satisfaction and actual need satisfaction, produces revolution" (Davies, 1962: 19). Ted Gurr connected the frustration-aggression theory directly to relative deprivation, defined as a given entity's perception of the discrepancy between its value expectations and value capabilities. They are the conditions that determine peoples' perceived chances of getting or keeping the values they legitimately expect to obtain (Gurr, 1970). In Professor Gurr's opinion, potential for collective violence is greater when the gap between value expectations and value achievements increases over time.

The relative deprivation theory is useful in the analysis of socio-political situations from a conflict perspective. In educational analysis, it assists in exploring the effects of deprivation on national educational policies and reflects the existence of other socio-economic inequalities, hence their impact on the socialization process. The frustration-aggression theory also provides

insights in making choices towards conflict resolution which can, in turn, enhance national confidence and morale towards the growth of national sentiment.

The above discussion enables us to construct the following analytical framework of Pakistani society:

a) Rational understanding of value expectations and value achievements, as well as the strategies of political socialization by the ruling elite, are necessary for a broader under standing of the goals of national integrity.
b) The gap in expectations and achievements may cause different societal groups to re-evaluate their societal situation in a way that may meet past images and policies.
c) Perceived frustration and conflict of perceptions may confuse reality and engage both groups in the formation of distorted perceptions, and stereo-typical images, both of which may lead towards societal disunity.
d) The principle of cultural pluralism is essential for conflict resolution in order for actual need satisfaction of diverse societal groups, initially at the cultural level. This could potentially pave the way towards a socio-political re-ordering of the society.

III. Perceptions and the Pakistani Society

As a socio-psychological phenomena, perception is an analytical tool to describe intergroup behavior and national character in culturally pluralistic societies. As a multi-ethnic society, residuary Pakistan consists of four major ethnic nationalities (Baluchi, Pathan, Punjabi and Sindhi) and nearly fifty other ethno-linguistic groups. In addition, after partition of the state of India in 1947, approximately four million Urdu speaking Muslim refugees from India were also settled primarily in the Sindh province. At this time, East Bengal, Punjab and Sindh formally acceded to Pakistan. However, the leaders of Baluchistan and Frontier (NWFP) provinces were hesitant to join Pakistan in the absence of a mutually agreed upon political frame-work for the new state, but were compelled to do so, nonetheless. Moreover, the central government's unilateral decision to settle most of the immigrant population in the Sindh province, and declare Urdu (the language spoken by the immigrants) the sole national language, caused political unrest in the four provinces of Sindh, Baluchistan, Bengal and NWFP.

Lack of effort to resolve this problem initially generated several other conflicts over the years, leading to altered perceptions of the Pakistani state among the indigenous nationalities. Unequal representation at various socio-economic and political levels has further contributed to the feelings of deprivation.

Perhaps, Pakistan is the only country in the contemporary world system whose national language has no roots in its soil, and whose national history, as taught in the standard national curriculum, does not represent the indigenous cultures and their contributions to its independence movement. Social studies, as taught according to the national curriculum, provides accounts of the events that occurred outside the Pakistani territory, primarily those that transpired in the central Indian provinces.

This has not only arrested the opportunities of inter-ethnic socialization, but has blocked the growth of national character and sentiment for Pakistani nationalism. Consequently, the indigenous nationalities, who once took pride in the Pakistan independence movement, now hold differing opinions concerning the future of the Pakistani state. The succession of East Pakistan and various other movements related to the socio-political reordering of this society

among Baluch, Pathan, Sindhi, Siraiki and Pothohari segments of the Punjab, are thus reflective of the changing perceptions.

While discussion of historical events is beyond the scope of this study, a reference to the ideological debate over Pakistan as an "Islamic state" or a "Muslim state" is necessary in order for the reader to understand the nature of the changing perceptions in this society. Despite the religious character of the Pakistan movement, the Pakistan Resolution (the basis for the network of the Pakistani state) describes Pakistan as a Muslim state with a secular infrastructure. But most Pakistani government administrations, having either been non-elected or a military rule (with the exception of the Bhutto administration) have tended to describe Pakistan as an Islamic state. While the notion of a Muslim state encourages the "unity in diversity" perspective, based on ethnic arithmetic, under the Islamic state notion, the assimilationist tendencies have prevailed. As such, among other considerations, the conflict of value expectations stemming from the original concept of Pakistan, and value achievements based on the functioning ideology of the ruling elite, continues to dominate the socio-political scene.

The next section analyzes the correlation between the Pakistani social studies curriculum and major political changes reflecting the ideological attitudes of the Pakistani ruling elite, which over periods of time have contributed to the societal perceptions of Pakistani nationalities.

IV. The Curriculum and Perceptions

Most newly independent states, lacking the traditional elements of modern nationalism, have used value education as a socialization tool towards the process of nation and state-building. While equal socio-economic and political opportunities are important to maintain peaceful status-quo, the national curriculum functions to assist the younger generation to adapt themselves according to the values of the society. For this purpose, the "pre-planned" nature of the standard national curriculum not only reflects a value system, but the state-building tendencies of the ruling elite, as well.

The social studies curriculum in Pakistan is a uniform nationalized curriculum dealing with the historical, socio-economic, political, and cultural aspects of social studies. While in some societies, the national curriculum remains unchanged for lengthy periods of time, in Pakistan, the texts appear to have changed with every major political change in the government.[1]

The four major political eras in the history of Pakistan and its national curriculum are:

A)	Early Establishment Era	(1947-1958)
B)	The Military Era	(1958-1971)
C)	The Civilian Era	(1971-1977)
D)	The Post Civilian and New Military Era	(1977-Present)

1. A detailed analysis of the Pakistani social studies curriculum has been included in the doctoral dissertation by A.A. Kazi, "Education, Ethnicity and Problems of National Integration in Developing Societies: Pakistan," International & Development Education Program, University of Pittsburgh, 1983.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

A. Early Establishment era (1947-1958)

This era witnessed both the spirit of the Pakistan movement and the power struggle among the indigenous and immigrant leadership. During the founding phase, the national social studies curriculum (taught separately as history, geography, and civics) treats the Pakistani nationalities with a "unity in diversity" perspective. The integrative tendencies seem to be centrifugal, reflecting consensus as the socialization mechanism. Such tendencies are noticeable in various history books of this era, which treat Pakistan as a garden, and its nationalities as different flowers. Emphasis on indigenous history and culture seems to be proportionately represented during this era, indicating a considerable respect for cultural plurality. Presentation of historical sites and places have been accurately described. Treatment of the Indus-Valley civilization, as the Sindhu-Valley civilization, Pakistan's heritage, is supplemented with individual accounts of the history, politics, and culture of all the principal nationalities and their contributions to the independence movement. Short details on the contributions of various educational and political leaders of Bengal, Frontier, Punjab and Sindh, and brief accounts of indigenous movements and wars of independence, such as the Hurr Movement and the Miani War in Sindh (1880 and 1843 respectively), the resistance of Raja Ranjit Singh in Punjab, and Khudai Khidmatgar movement in Frontier are cited objectively. Not only are the indigenous nationalities represented in the texts, but several Hindu leaders, such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Subhash Chander Bose, and Robindranath Tagore have also been cited for their contributions in the struggle against the colonial rule.

During this era, the indigenous Pakistani languages were the medium of instruction in both the primary and secondary schools, and Urdu, the national language, was taught as a compulsory subject from the fifth grade onwards.

Thus, the curriculum of this era was based on respect for cultural pluralism and reflects centrifugal tendencies of the ruling elite. Despite the introduction of Urdu as the national language, its implementation was limited and the texts of this era did not adapt to this change, but were printed in the native languages (those developed with a written script).

B. The Military Era (1958-1971)

This period witnessed the post-Jinah (founder of Pakistan) power struggle among various Pakistani political groups. Jinah's immediate successor (an immigrant), Liaqat Ali Khan lacked political constituency in the Pakistani territory. He thus concentrated his efforts in organizing diverse refugee groups in the Karachi area of the Sindh province on the basis of a world view notion of Pakistan as an Islamic state, rather than the Muslim state envisaged in the Pakistan Resolution. Liaqat, in the face of popular opposition, established a close alliance with the Army groups, instead of seeking political resolution, enabling him to continue as Prime Minister. (It was also under Liaqat's influence that Jinah declared Urdu the sole national language, causing a national crisis that has yet to be resolved.) However, continued opposition to his rule led to his assasination in 1953. In 1955, with the Army's support, his successors forcibly amalgamated all West Pakistani nationalities into a single "One Unit" province, which eliminated individual ethnic identities. Under this scheme, merely speaking of the nationalities or ethnic origins was considered anti-Pakistani and regionalistic. Internal political problems, as well as lack of resources delayed the immediate changes in the national curriculum. It was 1958, when General

Ayub Khan consolidated his power through a military *coup d' etat*, that the national social studies curriculum was changed.

Because of the official ban on distinction of ethnic identities, the curriculum of this era disregarded the realities of cultural pluralism and described Pakistan purely in geographical terms, with an emphasis on Islam. While the previous texts described differences in Pakistani society in ethnic terms, the new texts described those differences in the context of location, climate, religion, etc. *The Social Studies Textbook* of the Ayub Khan era states that, "... under this religious relationship, all the inhabitants of Pakistan have been united and merged into a nation" (1958:1).

The text books of the Military era seem to have de-emphasized the accounts of indigenous history and culture, and local contributions in the independence struggle appear to have been replaced with the history and culture of the central Indian provinces which represent only the immigrant community in Pakistan. Unlike the texts of the previous era which discussed the ancient non-Muslim history of the Pakistani territory, the new texts discuss the same period of history beginning with the Muslim invasion of India, excluding all references to the ancient pre-Muslim history and the influences of the indigenous institutions. The Indus-Valley civilization, named after its inhabitants, is usually described as the Sindhu-Valley civilization, but the texts of this era refer to it as the Indus civilization of Larkana. The word "Sindh" is omitted because it connoted an ethnic identity. While detailed accounts of the central Indian socio-political movements such as the Indian Mutiny, the Khilafat Movement, the Devband Movement, and Ahmed Brelvi's anti-Sikh Movement, etc. were thoroughly discussed, no mention is made of similar movements within the actual Pakistani territory, for example, the Hurr Movement. Contributions of the central Indian leaders in educational development are highlighted, without referring to similar contributions by indigenous leaders in such developments. For example, the educational contributions of those who have never worked with the indigenous leaders or visited the Pakistani territory, were described in the social studies texts, Syed Ahmed, Mehdi Ali Khan, and Mushtaq Hussain (1967:133); the native educational reformers, who spent their lives working towards educational development of the actual Pakistani constituency, Hassan Ali Afandi, Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, and Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan, were discounted.

During this era, Urdu instruction was declared compulsory from the primary level onwards. While Urdu was implemented in both the primary and secondary schools of Baluchistan, NWFP, and the Punjab provinces, in Bengal and Sindh, instruction in Urdu was restricted to secondary schools because of the developed nature of the native languages of those provinces. Thus, while Urdu became compulsory for all, teaching of indigenous local languages to non-speaking immigrants was non-compulsory. As such, in contrast to the centrifugal tendencies of the previous era, the texts of this era reflect rigid centripetal tendencies of a coercive nature. The centrifugal tendencies combined with other socio-political and economic inequalities not only limited the process of inter-ethnic socialization, but added to the growing deprivation and frustration resulting in regional nationalism, which in turn led to the catastrophic national dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971.

C. The Civilian Era (1971-1977)

The political crisis of the late 1960's forced General Ayub Khan to resign as the President of Pakistan. Due to the seriousness of this crisis, his successor, General Yahya Khan, decided to

abolish the "One Unit" structure of Pakistan, and re-establish ethnic identities. Yahya Khan also appointed a commission of inquiry for educational reform, the Noor Khan Commission. However, in the face of the Bangla Desh civil war, its recommendations could not be implemented until the newly elected civilian government (the first in the history of Pakistan) was established by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1971. The Bhutto government appointed its own commission on educational policy reforms according to party campaign promises. In 1972-73, Bhutto's new educational policy brought about changes in the national curriculum, along the lines of "cultural pluralism". In addition to Urdu as the national language, Bhutto, in response to popular demands, encouraged the use of indigenous languages as the official language of each of the provinces, therefore, as a medium of instruction from the primary to the university level. The provincial governments were also encouraged to establish their own language development boards/commissions, and at the same time, the immigrant groups were provided free government facilities to learn the local languages. The development of native languages was accompanied with the recognition of indigenous history and culture. As such, the social studies texts of this era reflect a revival of cultural pluralism in residuary Pakistan. The new texts portrayed Pakistan as an Islamic republic or a Muslim state, rather than the Islamic state, as did the previous administrations. Historical texts have once again included accounts of indigenous contributions to the independence movement. However, unlike in the first era, the history of the central Indian provinces continues to be a part of the history of Pakistan. In contrast to the second era, the bonds between various ethnic nationalities have been described in ethnic rather than in geographical terms, and emphasis on religious ideology is translated and discussed in a socio-economic, rather than in a purely religious context.

While the social studies text books did not mention the contributions of indigenous Hindu leaders, references were made to Bengali leaders for their contributions in the Pakistan movement. The educational and political movements of the indigenous nationalities were briefly discussed in the texts, while the accounts of the central Indian Muslim history were highlighted. The Indus-Valley civilization once again was treated as the Indus civilization of Sindh, rather than of "the district Larkana" as was the case in the books of the second era.

As such, the books of this era show a marriage of both centrifugal and centripetal tendencies, reflecting both integrative mechanisms, coerciveness in political matters, and consensus in cultural and educational matters.

D. The Post-Civilian Era (1977-Present)

This era began with the military *coup d' etat* by General Zia-ul-Haq against the elected civilian government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Since the overthrow of the Bhutto government in 1977, scholars have described the political situation in Pakistan as perpetually unstable, lacking popular legitimacy. The military rulers have unilaterally adopted the Islamization process in the country and have portrayed Pakistan as an Islamic state.

Despite the contradictory definitions of Islam among the diverse Pakistani socio-political groups, its practice, as the functioning ideology of the ruling elite, appears to dominate every sector of society, including the social studies curriculum. Every ruling regime in Pakistan seems to have interpreted the concept of Pakistan from their own perspective, and the current rulers

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

have emphasized the existence of Pakistan in terms of "God's oneness" and have justified their rule in terms of a "Godly versus an un-Godly government".[2]

Previously, divisions in Pakistani society were recognized either in ethnic or geographical terms. The current curriculum, while maintaining the cultural diversity notion, appears to be non-specific concerning cultural realities, other than that of the Islamic factor. The present texts have limited the historical background of Pakistan to the Arab invasion of Sindh in the 7th century A.D., and continue to portray the Mughul Indian history as the history of Pakistan. While the curriculum of the civilian era briefly discussed the individual contributions of Pakistani nationalities in the Pakistan independence movement, the current texts exclude such. Emphasis on Islam enjoys a high priority, as the text treatment of the Indus-Valley civilization suggests. *The Pakistan Studies* text describes this ancient civilization as a part of Islamic heritage. It states:

> The seals found in the excavation of Mohenjo-Darho are inscribed with writings which have not yet been deciphered by the scholars. These inscriptions tell the story of a 4000 year old (script of) Islamic literature in Pakistan. (1982).

Currently, Urdu is taught compulsorily as the national language at all levels in the schools, while the instruction of native languages for non-speaking immigrants is still non-compulsory. Sindhi is taught up to the secondary school level in a few local schools, but lack of technical facilities for printing in the Baluchi, Pushto and Punjabi languages have left these students with little choice but to study in Urdu. While the Baluchi and Pushto populations have continuously demonstrated their dissatisfaction on the language controversy the younger Punjabi generation, despite the dominant position of Punjab in the political structure, have deplored the lack of use of their provincial language at the cost of Urdu, the national language. Therefore, the text books of this era seem to resemble the texts of the second era, the Military Era, with additional emphasis on religious aspects, reflecting strict centripetal tendencies.

A descriptive content analysis of the Pakistani secondary social studies curriculum based on individual ethnic representation of diverse integrative variables at the cultural, social, political, educational and religious levels is reflected in the table below. The variables analyzed in the curriculum are those which contribute or potentially inhibit the growth of Pakistani nationalism.

Analysis of Proportionate Ethnic Representation in The Pakistani Secondary Social Studies Curriculum

Time Period	Cultural	Social	Historical/ Political	Educational	Religious
Early Era	20%	15%	25%	20%	20%
Military Era	5%	10%	20%	5%	60%
Civilian Era	10%	20%	30%	10%	30%
Post-Civilian Era	5%	5%	5%	5%	80%

A.A. Kazi, "Education, Ethnicity, and Problems of National Integration in Developing Societies: Pakistan"! University of Pittsburgh, 1983.

2. "What is the meaning of Pakistan? God is one and alone. The concept of Pakistan was such a fact that everyone understood. Its direct meaning is active Islamic interpretation and its implementation. Pakistan was demanded so that Muslims could live their individual and collective lives according to Islam. Instead of an un-Godly government, they could live their lives under the government of God." (A passage from *Pakistan Studies Compulsory*, 1983:1). Translated from Urdu.

V. Conclusion

The societal perception conflict discussed above, appears not to have been derived from the original concept of Pakistan, but from the post-Jinah power struggle among the indigenous and the immigrant groups. The four different perspectives in the national curricula are indicative of the inequality controversy in other policy areas (a detailed study on the subject has been covered in A.A. Kazi's *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan*, University of Pittsburgh, 1981), causing the feelings of deprivation, frustration, and destabilizing the very fabric of the Pakistani national state.

The Pakistani case provides a scenario of internal colonialism that commonly relies on coercive rather than consensus measures. The 1948 perceptions of Pakistani nationalities have changed drastically over the last thirty eight years, and currently they have begun questioning the existing structure of the state derived from the ideological and socio-economic spheres.

It is hazardous to make generalizations from a single case, nevertheless, the comparative analysis of many newly independent states suggests that they possess similar political structures which have led to general political instability. These include uneven boundaries, divided ethnic groups, a single dominant group supported by a minority or immigrant elite, a national/official language not well understood by the majority of the population, a non-representative national history and culture, and a political system with indirect or little participation, as well as other problems related to the development process. Lack of traditional attributes of modern nationalism and inappropriate integrative strategies have marred the process of political stability.

As such, this author concludes that culturally appropriate strategies of national development and societal re-ordering are crucial for an effective state building process in multi-ethnic societies, without which these societies are neither nations nor states, but unstable political units, merely surviving with the use of coercive mechanisms.

The Pakistani case suggests that broader participation of all the indigenous nationalities at the socio-economic and cultural level could stabilize the political situation, as well as strengthen the process of nation and state building. Alienation of indigenous ethnic groups from the political system could, in the long run, destabilize the international security of South Asia. In that regard, equal representation of the ethnic groups in the standard national curriculum, along with other socio-economic opportunities, may slow down the process of destabilization and contribute to the growth of national sentiment and character.

Bibliography

Ahmed, Feroz. "Structure and Contradictions in Pakistan," *Pakistan Forum*, March 1972.

Ahmed, Iftikhar. "Pakistan: Class and State Formation," *Race and Class*, March 1978.

Baloch, Nabi Bux. *The Educational Policy, 1972*. Hyderabad, Sindh: Sindh University Press, 1972.

Binder, Leonard. *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Carony, Martin. *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. New York: David McKay Co., 1974.

Cottam, Richard W. "Religion and Nationalism." Paper presented at the American Universities Field Staff Conference on Nationalism, Rome, 1981.

Desai, A.R. *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*. Bombay: Bombay Publishing House, 1954.

Dollard, John et al. *Frustration and Aggression*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939.

Emerson, Rupert. *From Empire to Nation*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Foster, Charles. *Nations Without State: Ethnic Minorities in Western Europe*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981.

Gankovsky, Polonsyaya. *The National Question and National Movements in Pakistan*. Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1964.

Hass, Glenn (ed.) *Curriculum Planning: A New Approach*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1980

Malik, Hafeez. *Muslim Nationalism in Pakistan*. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1963.

Ministry of Education, Islamabad. *Pakistan Educational Statistics 1947-79*, 1979.

Ministry of Education, Islamabad. *Pakistan Educational Statistics 1947-79*, 1979.

Ministry of Education, Islamabad. *Proposals for a New Educational Policy*, July 1969.

Ministry of Education and Scientific Research. *Education in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Government Press, 1971.

Monchar, P.H. "Regional Educational Inequality and Political Instability," *Comparative Education Review*, February 1981.

Keller, Edmond J. "Education, Ethnicity and Political Socialization in Kenya," *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 12, 4, January 1980.

LaBelle, Thomas J. and White, Peter S. "Education and Multi-Ethnic Integration," *Comparative Education Review*, June 1980.

LaPorte, Robert Jr. *Power and Privilege: Influence and Decision-Making in Pakistan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Mughul, Nazir A. "The Elite Groups and Aspects of Confrontation Within Pakistan," *Asian Profile*, June 1977.

Rooman, Anwar. *Education in Balochistan*. Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab Publishers, 1971.

Weiner, Myron. "Political Integration and Political Development," A Chapter in Tachua, Frank (ed.) *Developing Nations: What Path to Modernization?* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co, 1972.

Text Books

Golden History of Pakistan, Karachi: Starr Publishers, 1952.

History of Indo-Pakistan (In Sindhi). Lahore: West Pakistan Text Book Board, 1962.

History of Pakistan. Lahore: West Pakistan Text Book Board, 1967.

Pakistan Studies. Hyderabad: Naseem Book Depu, 1973.

Pakistan Studies. Hyderabad: Naseem Book Depu, 1982.

Pakistan Studies Compulsory. Lahore: West Pakistan Text Book Board, 1964.

Sindhi Texts for Classes V, VI, VII, VIII, and IX, Hyderabad, Karachi, & Lahore: Universal Book Depu, 1950, 1964, 1974, 1982, 1984, respectively.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE